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Jupiter Dolichenus.—By Rev. CHARLES S. SANDERS, Aintab, Turkey.

FOR a thorough understanding of Jupiter Dolichenus and his worship, two things would be necessary. The first of these is a satisfactory knowledge of the old Baal cults or worship of Syria, for without doubt the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in its original form was simply the worship of the local Baal. How much is really known concerning the old Baal worship in North Syria is a matter that admits of question. One valuable source of information is the coins of the region, of which more later.

Again, on the Roman side, the cults of the purely Roman worship of Jupiter—Jupiter Stator, Jupiter Depulsor, etc.—would need to be better understood. The relation of these to the national worship has not yet been adequately investigated; see, for example, the article “Jupiter” in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. xiii., p. 780). If this relation could be made clear to us, we should very likely see how easy it was for the Romans to adopt the Dolichenus cult, its worshippers among the Romans conceiving of it as merely a new manifestation of their national worship.

Dolichenus seems to have come into the Roman world as one of the Oriental gods, so popular in Rome in the second century. The Antonines being very friendly toward the Oriental cults (witness Antoninus Pius even building a temple to Jupiter Heliopolitanus), they came in with a rush. Mithra, the most popular of all, has little bearing on our subject, though Dolichenus is elucidated *passim* in Dr. Cumont’s great work on Mithra.¹ The Egyptian cults have also no interest for us in this connection. Two cults, however, seem to have much in common with the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, namely, that of Atargatis (Derketo), the “Dea Syria” of Hierapolis, well known through Lucian’s *De Dea Syria*, and that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. There are other cults, as *Jupiter Damascenus*, *Jupiter Olbius*,

¹ *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1899.

etc., but scarcely anything is known of them. On the ground of contiguity, we should expect the inscriptions of the god Aziz of Edessa, found in Dacia, to throw some light on the subject; but that which is gained from them points more probably to affinities with the Mithra cult. See Cumont's *Textes et Monuments*, i. 250, note 2; 260, note 2.

Three inscriptions of Dacia and the unequivocal testimony of Stephanus of Byzantium locate the original seat of Dolichenus' worship at Doliche (Δολίχη) in Commagene. While there are many places bearing this name, the above reference ("aeternus Commagenorum deus") settles the question. Stephanus, in speaking of Doliche in Commagene, mentions the worship there of Jupiter Dolichenus. The place is rather near the southern boundary of Commagene. Its coins begin only with Marcus and Verus. Ptolemaeus is the first geographer to mention it. Yet the Macedonian name makes us at least wonder whether it was not one of the places where Alexander the Great's veterans settled. It is very near the junction of four Roman roads; one leading to Samosata, one to Edessa via Zeugma, one to Germanicia (the modern Marash), and one to Cyrrhus and Antioch. It is not far (some thirty-six miles) from Cyrrhus, a center of Roman soldiers, a fact which probably accounts for the transformation of the local Astarte into "Minerva Cyrrhestica." This proximity of a great Roman fort may also account for the distinctively military character of Jupiter Dolichenus in his European transformation.

In church history Doliche is noteworthy as being the place where Eusebius of Samosata was murdered just after the termination of the Arian controversy. At present it is merely a prosperous Turkish village. A mound near by yields pillars, capitals, etc., to every digger, and probably this hill was the site of Dolichenus' original temple. The place is notable for the large number of sepulchres found there. The only (?) inscription, however, thus far discovered among them is a bit of Syriac. The present village is notable for an unusually handsome mosque, erected probably before the Turkish period. There is a much higher hill about two miles away, which is known as Dulūk Bābā. It contains a Moslem ziyāret, and probably marks an ancient holy place. It is possible that the original seat of the Dolichenus worship was here, but more probably it was the hill mentioned above, very near the present Doliche.

According to Hettner (*De Jove Dolicheno*, Bonn, 1877), we have a bit of local idiom in the very name "Dolichenus." Stephanus says that the god was called "Zeus Dolichaios," but that "the local usage is Dolichenus." *Dolichaios* is not once used in the inscriptions, the form being *Dolichenus* or a misspelling of the same, or else what seems to be an echo of one of the Syriac forms of the name, which is variously written *Doluk*, *Dulik*, etc.

When we come to the conventional representations of the god, two distinct questions arise: (1) How was he represented at home? (2) What was his appearance in his European transformation?

(1) The "Dea Syria" is abundantly pictured on coins; Jupiter Heliopolitanus appears on coins and also on bits of statuary, though the latter are generally broken, as in the case of the specimens in the museum of the Syrian Protestant College in Beyrouth. Coins of Dolichenus are rare. The writer has been allowed to see some in the possession of Mr. E. Michel of Alexandria. We seem to have here the original Syrian form. The god is standing on an animal which is rather small in proportion, and both are facing the right. The military accoutrements so prominent in the European transformation are wanting. On one coin the god—still standing on an animal—is represented as under a canopy or roof on pillars. The question at once arises, whether the tetrastyle of *CIL.*, vi. 414, is not identical with such canopies as these, which are often met with on coins of North Syria, certain coins of Zeugma, for example, and others probably belonging to deities whose names have passed into oblivion.

Little bronzes with a human being standing on an animal more or less fantastic are quite common. Probably they are also representations of Syrian gods. They are very common around Zeitūn and Geok-sun, in Western Commagene. This branch of the subject is as yet practically uninvestigated.

(2) In his European transformation there seem to be only two features of Dolichenus, on the monuments where he is pictured, which are Oriental; namely, the uplifted position of the arms, and the fact that the god stands on an ox which faces the right. He has the pileus on his head, the lorica on his body, is often provided with greaves, and wears the soccus. Sometimes

there is the military cloak. In the right hand is the bipennis and a thunder-bolt in the left. Often a winged victory is about to crown him, and an eagle is sometimes near. In a very few cases the Sun and Moon figure, as in the representation of Mithra. Sometimes the god is represented unmounted, and certainly once just like the Roman Jupiter. This taking on of pure Roman forms happens also sometimes in the Egyptian cults.

It is a striking feature of the old Syrian gods that they have their partners, though the partners are subordinated. Thus, the Dea Syria has her male complement (see Hettner), and similarly Jupiter Dolichenus has his female associate. She is on an ibex, a wild goat or some such animal, which faces the left, and thus Dolichenus and his complement face each other on monuments where they both exist. Her name in the inscriptions is Juno; but as Jupiter Dolichenus is the local Baal of Southern Commagene, so, probably, in the original worship, his complement Juno bore one of the several names under which Astarte appears.

To one interested in Commagene, there arises at once the question why this distinctively Commagenean god had his original seat in so obscure a place. The discoveries of Humann and Puchstein,¹ which show so strong a development of the Mithra cult in Nimrūd Dāgh, suggest one answer. As the inscription there shows that the reigning dynasty at Samosata were followers of Mithra,² we should hardly expect, very near by, a god who could be called "aeternus Commagenorum deus." Again, while some of the old sites have kept their identity through the centuries, one has only to travel through Commagene, Cyrrhestica, and Osrhoene, now, to find many old temple sites marked as once important centers of worship by the number and size of the weather-beaten pillars which are still standing, though no record of their glory remains. Doliche may in the pre-Roman time have had an importance in the religious world of Southern Commagene of which we now know very little.

Hettner does not enter at all into the manner in which Dolichenus was worshipped. Of this very little is known. That there used to be *dolichena*, just as there were *mithrea* in the cult of Mithra, is fully ascertained, such having been actually

¹ *Reisen in Kleinasiens und Nord-Syrien*, Berlin, 1890.

² See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, ii. 187 f.

found.¹ The coins would seem to show that the tetrastyle was a feature of the worship of the old Syrian gods. Such a tetrastyle with Jupiter Dolichenus under the open roof is figured on one of the coins mentioned above. Would it be too bold a conjecture to assert that such a tetrastyle did not represent the original seat of worship, but that it was a feature of the country then, as the *ziyāret* is now, and that very likely many modern *ziyārets* represent such ancient high places?

Sacerdos is used so often as to show plainly that the priestly idea and function were very fully developed. *Candidatus* is a word occurring in a way that makes us wonder whether it does not mark a special class, being employed, that is, in something like its primary meaning (white-clothed), and not in the usual, secondary sense of the word. See especially the Roman inscription *CIL.* vi. 406 (also p. 834, note to 406), *pro salute sacerdotium et kandidatorum et colitorum*. In the same inscription, *lecticari dei. Triclinium*, *CIL.* iii. 4789(b), and *cenatorium*, quoted by Cumont,² rather go to show something like a sacrament, or at least a sacrificial meal. There was such in the cult of Mithra; and in the upper part of Commagene, among some of the Kuzul-bash Koords, there is probably something of the same thing to-day. Though kept secret as much as possible, it is known that such rites exist.

Aside from the hints contained in these and like words, we have no knowledge of the details of the worship, beyond what may be inferred from the little we know about the cults of Mithra and Atargatis. Vows were evidently quite a feature of the worship—hence many of the inscriptions. *Ex jussu ipsius, ex jussu numinis* would go to show a degree of personal relation, or at least the possibility of receiving impressions from the god regarding his will.

As no inscriptions have been found in the East (so far as I am aware) relating to Dolichenus, we are obliged to speak of this god hereafter with exclusive reference to his Western transformation. These Eastern cults do not seem to have taken root at all in Greece; it is the Roman world which follows them. Hettner gives the following as the distribution of the three cults, in the Western world:

¹ See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, i. 333.

² *Textes et Monuments*, i. 320, note 8.

	Dacia.	Moesia.	Pannonia.	Noricum.	Raetia.	Germania.	Gallia.	Britannia.	Africa.	Dalmatia.	Italy (not Rome).	Rome.	Total.
Dea Syria.....	2(?)	1						3			1	3(?)	10
J. Heliopolitanus ..	2	1(?)	4(?)					2(?)	2		4	4	21
J. Dolichenus	11	13	3	1	14	1	15	8	3	1	9	20	84
Total by countries ..	15	1	18	3	1	2	13	5	1	14	27	115	

It must be borne in mind that the above list includes not only inscriptions but *tituli* as well; often, for example, only a statue or part of a bas-relief, which, however, has features which make it without doubt the *titulus* of such and such a god.

In two Dacian inscriptions Heliopolitanus and Dolichenus are joined together. This is good evidence of the close resemblance which was recognized as existing between the two cults. As in North Syria the two deities were different local manifestations of the same god, essentially, so in Europe their votaries looked upon them as holding much the same relation. Leave the sex out of account, and the same would probably be true of Dea Syria also.

It remains to answer briefly three questions pertaining to the Dolichenus cult in Europe: (1) How did it get there? (2) Where did it take root, and to what degree? (3) The dates *a quo* and *ad quem*.

(1) *How did it get to Europe?* The first answer that comes to mind is, that of course the legions in the East brought it back with them (compare Tacitus, the legion from the East "saluting the rising sun"), they had become votaries of Mithra. But this is probably a wrong inference. We must especially bear in mind that, so far as we can tell from comparison of the representations on coins and on bas-reliefs found in Europe, it was not a purely Oriental cult, but a *transformed* Oriental cult, that was so popular in the Roman empire.

One fact which especially attracts our attention is the frequent recurrence of the name *Marinus*, and the way in which it is connected with *sacerdos*, in the inscriptions. It seems proba-

ble that "Marinus" was a name specially connected with the cult; perhaps it was the name of a priestly family, or rank.¹

In the early centuries there seems to have been a very large number of traders from the East throughout the Roman empire. The inscriptions prove their existence as far as Lyons, at least, and probably they travelled over the known world as diligently as do to-day the Armenians, and still more, the Syrians of the Beyrouth region. We must also remember the vast number of slaves from the East, so plentiful especially in Rome. As Christianity often worked up from slaves to their masters, why may not the worship of Dolichenus have done the same?

Outside of Italy, these cults seem to have taken firmest root in Dacia. When this province was drained of men after Trajan's subjugation of the country, Eutropius tells us that the emperor ordered that large drafts be made on all parts of the empire to re-people the country. The inscriptions of Aziz of Edessa in Dacia show us that a large draft was taken from Osrhoene, just across the Euphrates from Commagene. Why should not the presence of the Dolichenus cult in Dacia lead us to believe that such a transplanting took place, at that time, from Commagene also? That even associations and guilds of Syrians existed there, and in numbers too, is shown by the inscriptions.

Juvenal's "Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes" shows us what an influence the oriental part of the Roman population had at that time, if not on the government, at least on the life of the people. What with merchants, soothsayers, dancing-girls, soldiers, and slaves, the different lines of influence from the East were continually tightening their grasp on the West.

The objection may be made that, if the influences of these cults had been so powerful, later Roman literature would reflect them more. The Mithra cult may be quoted in answer. The enormous number of its monuments shows how it flourished,—even some of the emperors patronized it,—and yet what can we learn of it from Latin authors? It is very evident, at all events, that the priests of Dolichenus were everywhere zealous in propagating their religion, and that their efforts were successful. Hettner thinks that the influence of the soldiery in spread-

¹ See, however, Ed. Meyer, in Roscher's *Lexicon der Mythologie*, s. v. "Dolichenus," who suggests that this is a Latinized form of the Syriac *marna* "(our) lord."

ing the cult has been overestimated. We know, however, that the XVI. legion "Flavia firma" served in Commagene. Officers were changed from legion to legion, and thus may have influenced other legions when serving later in Europe. There were, moreover, at least six cohorts from Commagene, and that these cohorts were very busy in propagating their ancestral worship is extremely probable.

(2) *Where did the worship take root, and to what degree?* So far as extant inscriptions give us an answer, the cult of Dolichenus seems to have taken root quite deeply in Dacia, Pannonia, Germania, Britannia, Italy and Rome. In Dacia, two or three cohorts from Commagene served a long time. In Pannonia, priests and merchants seem to have been very active, and we find one inscription, "Syrus ex regione Dolica." As to England, we know (i. e., can certainly infer) that Dea Syria, Helopolitanus and Dolichenus were all taken there by Cohort I. of the "Hammii." This name has with great probability been referred to the Syrian city Hamā (Hamath). If this explanation is correct, the fact shows how true it is that these worshippers regarded a number of distinct Syrian cults as essentially the same; for Hamā is far beyond the territory of Dolichenus, and there is no evidence tending to show that the Dolichenus worship had in its own land anything like the wide-reaching influence of Dea Syria, as attested by Lucian of Samosata.

As to the degree to which these cults affected the territories involved, we can only guess. The influence must, however, have been very considerable in Dacia and Pannonia, and in England in the small territory north of Hadrian's wall, where all the English inscriptions but one are found.

(3) *The date.* The earliest inscription known, which is dated, is one in England; namely the inscription *CIL*. vii. 506, belonging to the time of Antoninus Pius, 139–161 A. D. The temple of Dolichenus on the Aventine was probably built (*aedificatus*) or recognized as a temple in the time of the Antonines. That such a temple was founded (*conditus*) before the time of Claudius is very probable. Hettner, using arguments put forth by Jordan¹ in treating of the temple of the Dea Syria at Rome, concludes that the worship of Dolichenus must have become

¹ In *Hermes*, 1872, p. 320.

naturalized, so as no longer to appear foreign to the Romans, at the time when Claudius brought the Aventine within the limits of the *pomerium*, as foreign gods were forbidden within the *pomerium*.

We cannot suppose that the cult of Dolichenus went from Commagene to England at a bound. It is found there, however, in the time of Antoninus Pius. In this connection *CIL.* vii. 316 is interesting, “[*templum*] *vetustate co(n)lapsum*.” The inscription is not earlier than the close of the second century, but how much older was the temple? It seems impossible to account for the facts known except on the supposition that in the first century, and possibly even earlier, the cult first began to work westward; compare the earlier appearance of Dea Syria in Italy. Later the cult seems to have become merged in that of Mithra. *CIL.* vi. 412 and 413 show the beginning of this process, in the dedication to the Sun and Dolichenus together. Yet the very late date of some of the inscriptions makes it probable that it continued to maintain its separate existence in some localities, at least, until the time when Christianity relegated so many of these cults to oblivion.